DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 232 207 CS 207 765

AUTHOR Machowski, James Stanley; Brown, James William
TITLE Propaganda in Warner Brothers World War II Cartoons.
PUB DATE Aug 83
NOTE 42p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (66th, Corvallis, OR, August 6-9, 1983).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Animation; *Cartoons; Content Analysis; *Cultural Images; Ethnic Stereotypes; *Films; *Media Research; *Propaganda
IDENTIFIERS Warner Brothers; *World War II

ABSTRACT

To examine the role of the animated cartoon in propaganda associated with World War II, 194 of 262 cartoons produced for theatrical release by Warner Brothers, Inc., from 1939 to 1946 were analyzed. Propaganda content was determined by the number and nature of symbols used and the cartoon's "attitudes" toward these symbols. An analysis grid was developed using categories suggested by the literature on content analysis, propaganda, film analysis, animation, and World War II. Visual and audio symbols were coded separately, as were home front/civilian versus war/military occurrences or symbols. A separate area was designated for the analysis of the appearance, behavior, and interaction of characters. All films were viewed at least twice to verify findings. Findings indicated that in the majority of the cartoons, the propaganda was a quick intrusion of the reality of wartime, secondary to the main action and theme of the cartoon. Furthermore, (1) the United States and its allies and allied historical characters were portrayed positively; (2) allied characters won the conflicts; and (3) Warner's main characters were identified with the United States and defeated characters identified with its enemies. In the films that featured Germans or Japanese, there were certain extreme portrayals: German culture and language were ridiculed along with the Nazis, and the Japanese language, physical features, and customs also appeared in an unappealing light. (HOD)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED232207

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
[X] This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
[ ] Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

PROPAGANDA IN WARNER BROTHERS WORLD WAR II CARTOONS

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
James Stanley Machowski
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

by

James Stanley Machowski

and

James William Brown

Presented to the Visual Communications Division of
the Association for Education in Journalism
and Mass Communication
Corvallis, Oregon
August 6-9, 1983

CS 207765

Copyright 1983 by James Machowski and James Brown

The cartoon is a uniquely malleable and expressive art form. It combines the freedom of design and characterization of the artist with the "real" appearance of the cinematic image. Time, space and character can be distorted to any degree of imagination. As Halas and Manvell [1] wrote:

> A cartoon's virtues lies in simplification, distortion and caricature. It distorts for its own purpose and affects both character and behavior. It observes the physical laws of nature only to defy them.

Many of us grew up watching cartoons as a source of Saturday morning entertainment. Cartoon characters romped across our television screens providing visual excitement. Cartoons, however, were not always the innocent amusement that we assume them to be. Cartoons have been used as propaganda tools by government and the film industry.

This study examines the role of the cartoon in propaganda associated with World War II. Specifically, 194 of 262 cartoons produced for theatrical release by Warner Brothers, Inc., from 1939 to 1946 were analyzed for propaganda content.

These cartoons constitute a collection of the Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research, Madison, Wisconsin. This collection was chosen for study because it was extensive and readily available. Little has been written about the Warner Brothers films. In studies of propaganda films made during World War II, the most frequent reference to animation was to Disney. [2]

Preliminary viewing of 52 cartoons verified the extent and appropriateness of this collection. Research also uncovered the first published analysis of the collections of World War II cartoons, by Susan Dalton, former film archivist of the film collection. [3] Her

study contained an overview rather than a detailed analysis of the cartoons.

PROPAGANDA

The use of propaganda has a long history. In the seventeenth century, the Catholic Church established the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (Sacra Congregatio christiano nomini propagando). Its purpose was to found foreign seminaries and print catechisms in many languages. In this sense, propaganda was the dissemination of knowledge and ideas, both religious and secular, since the clergy involved were often the only people able to read and write. [4]

Propaganda received a bad name during World War I, "when inconvenient news and opinion was stigmatized as 'enemy propaganda.'" [5] In the years following the war, scholars and popular commentators exposed the lies told by the propaganda machines of both sides. These commentators often emphasized the secrecy of source and intent as well as invidious methods used to take advantage of unsuspecting victims. [6]

The Institute for Propaganda Analysis, [7] founded in 1937, defined propaganda as an "expressior of opinion or action by individuals or groups deliberately designed to influence opinions or actions of other individuals or groups with reference to predetermined ends." [8]

Lavine wrote about the moral nature of propaganda: "If there is a right and a wrong in propaganda, it is to be found in the relations between means and ends, methods and purposes, and not in propaganda itself." [9] Thus, there is nothing innately evil about propaganda, just the way it is used and interpreted. This study considers the propaganda of the animated cartoons as stated by Margolin. [10]

> In its broadest sense, World War II propaganda was just about anything which affected or confirmed the feelings and behavior of all involved, both toward their own country's efforts and those of their enemies.

Lasswell [11] emphasized that propaganda uses symbols to attain its ends:

> The task of the propagandist is to re-define the responses toward certain objects by the management of the available supply of symbols. the simplest way to make a devil of the Kaiser is to present the Kaiser in all the ways that are current for presenting the devil.

The propaganda contained in the cartoons analyzed here represents the purpose stated by Margolin achieved by manipulation of symbols, as described by Lasswell. The propaganda content is determined by the number and nature of symbols used, and the cartoons' "attitudes" toward these symbols. This study will also describe the symbols' creative manipulation, unique to the animated form.

CONTENT ANALYSIS

Berelson [12] has defined communication as:

> . . . that body of meanings through symbols (verbal, musical, pictorial, plastic, gestural) which makes up the communication itself.

He has defined content analysis as "a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication." [13] Manifest content requires that the researcher deal only with what is said or shown, not with the motive for the content or the response of people to the material.

Objectivity requires that the categories of analysis be clearly and explicitly defined in order to give scientific standing to the results and to make them verifiable. [14]

These guidelines were used in the development of the analysis grid in Appendix A. Data from these coding categories were used to test hypotheses related to propaganda in the cartoons studied.

DISCUSSION OF LITERATURE

In the 1930s, there was a growing concern over the potential use of mass media for purposes of propaganda. Hitler's control over Germany and his propaganda machinery alerted United States media researchers to the invidious uses the Nazis might find for mass communications in the event of war. These researchers also recognized the potential for their own government's manipulation of the media. Two months before the Pearl Harbor attack, Nixon [15] discussed the political realities of the times:

> "War without censorship and propaganda," as one American war correspondent has remarked, "is conceivable only between Utopia and Elysium." Control of public opinion is as essential to modern warfare as control of men and materials.

Nixon [16] further described the plans for domestic control of media:

> Not only are the Army and Navy organized to take full advantage of the opportunities for peace-time promotion in press and movies and over the radio, but the War Department is prepared to set in motion a vast "public relations" program as soon as a general mobilization is ordered.

MacCann analyzed government efforts at production and control of the field medium. [17] He studied the efforts of Lowell Mellett and Arch Mercey (and their successors) in the Bureau of Motion Pictures of the Domestic Branch of the U.S. Office of War Information (OWI). He also described other domestic efforts of the Armed Forces and various government agencies. Roetter and Sorensen [18] discussed the OWI in detail and placed it within an historical context. The government

understood the value of film and used it for domestic propaganda.

In fact, the government contracted for the production of animated films, some of which used characters from the entertainment cartoons. Robert Clampett, an animator and director for Warner Brothers in this period, described some of his involvement: [19]

> During those war years we all jumped in and made Private Snafu training films for Frank Capra's Army Signal Corps unit.
>
> I also collaborated with Hank (Dennis the Menace) Ketcham on a Navy version of Snafu called Hook, for which Arthur Lake (Bumstead of the "Blondie" series) did the lead voice for me. We also made technical training films for the government, and did a special Bugs Bunny bond-selling short for theaters, "Any Bonds Today?"

Maltin [20] detailed the content of the Private Snafu series:

> 'Snafu' was the name for a series of short black-and-white cartoons that were included in wartime issues of 'The Army-Navy Screen Magazine'; and shown exclusively to American soldiers. Running three to four minutes, they featured a foul-up named Snafu as a kind of military everyman and dealt with a variety of serious subjects, from learning to use and trust maps to maintaining secrecy in wartime.

Bugs Bunny, the most well-known Warner Brothers cartoon character, appeared in one Snafu, "The Three Brothers." [21] Mel Blanc, who created the voices for Warner's cartoon characters, used a voice very similar to the character Porky Pig for Snafu. [22]

Chuck Jones, an animator and director for Warner Brothers cartoons from the 1930s through World War II recalled his involvement with the military: [23]

> . . . I made films for the service. That's where I met Ted Geisel (Doctor Suess). He was over there at "Fort Western," as they called it. If you were an animator and you got drafted, instead of working for Warner's you were sent over to Western Avenue and Sunset Boulevard, dressed in a private's uniform.
>
> All the animators worked at either "Fort Western" or "Fort Roach" or out at Long Island, where the Army motion picture unit still is. I made most of the Private Snafu pictures during the war; Ted Geisel and some of the other Army people did the storyboards and I produced them at Warner's.
>
> Storyboards had to be approved by the Pentagon . . . but it was fairly loose and we did throw in a lot of business. [24]

The Walt Disney studio also produced films for the government. Donald Duck, one of Disney's most enduring characters, exhorted the public to pay their taxes in two Treasury Department-contracted cartoons, "Spirit of '43" and "The New Spirit." Minnie Mouse, female counterpart to leading character Mickey Mouse, advised housewives of the need to save fat in "Out of the Frying Pan into the Firing Line." [25]

The OWI not only acted as liaison between film studios and the U.S. Government on the contracting and production of films, but also kept an eye on entertainment films that were produced.

The U.S. Senate was also concerned about the films' propaganda use. In September 1941 hearings were held by the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee to investigate the movie industry's propagandizing for support of the British and their allies in the European war. The hearings were instigated by two isolationist senators, Nye and Clark. The hearings came to nothing when Pearl Harbor was attacked on December 7. [26]

In 1943, the U.S. Senate Special Committee investigating the National Defense Program, chaired by Senator Harry S. Truman, suggested

that Hollywood's film-makers were insufficiently qualified to produce films about the United States in war and that the War Department should take a more active role. [27]

Testimony at Truman's hearings and other documentation prove the unqualified cooperation of the film-making industry with the government regarding the war. The War Activities Committee of the Motion Picture Industry was the official organization of film producers, distributors, actors, labor unions and exhibitors that offered its assistance to the government. [28] Issues of the Motion Picture Almanac proudly listed all members. [29]

The War Activities Committee and the OWI did not always see eye to eye, but their periodic conflicts virtually ended in 1943 when Congress cut the OWI Bureau of Motion Pictures budget to a mere $50,000 and its head, Lowell Mellett, resigned. [30]

The strength of the entertainment film as a propaganda tool was identified as early as 1935 by Doob. [31] He emphasized the potential negative effects of subtle propaganda mechanisms in films which would prey on the unsuspecting mind of the entertainment seeker. "Trapped" in a dark room, entranced by the images on the silver screen, the viewer was, to Doob, an easy mark for any propangandist. While involved deeply in plot or character, he said, the viewer would quietly be slipped a message. Because of what he considered the insidious potential of this medium, Doob advocated control and censorship of entertainment film production.

Doob [32] also wished to warn Americans about the power of shorter films (newsreels, cartoons, etc.):

> The feature picture, however, is only part of the program; the audience may also be subjected to shorter film. In this respect, the propagandist is guaranteed an audience due to the interest in the feature and he may take advantage of the remaining parts of the program.

In 1969, Clampett acknowledged the impact of his cartoons on the American public. He remarked in an interview with Mike Barrier: [33]

> . . . Bugs Bunny was a symbol of America's resistance to Hitler and the fascist powers.

Clampett [34] continued:

> . . . and it is most difficult now to comprehend the tremendous emotional impact Bugs Bunny exerted on the audience then. You must try to recapture the mood of a people who had seen the enemy . . .blitzkrieg defenseless civilians, sink our fleet in a sneak attack, and threaten our very existence.

Clampett also claimed that by the end of the war his Bugs Bunny cartoons surpassed even Disney's in popularity.

There was, then, an awareness before and during World War II that feature films and animated cartoons could be effectively used for domestic propaganda.

Postwar studies dealing exclusively with the Warner Brothers cartoons released during the war are scarce. None have undertaken a formal approach to describe the overall content.

Much information on the war content of the films comes as secondary information within works covering the whole history of cartoons or profiling a particular animator or director. [35]

Dalton wrote a brief overview of the war-conscious content of the World War II Warner Brothers cartoons. [36] Using examples from 14 cartoons, she found war messages would occasionally creep into the cartoons--sometimes dominating them. The areas covered were:

patriotism, the inevitability of war, rationing, enemy collaboration, the draft and the interaction of two leading cartoon characters, Bugs Bunny and Daffy Duck, with such personalities as Adolf Hitler, Hermann Goering and the Japanese Army.

Jones developed content analysis techniques for her studies of feature-length films released during World War II. The coding schedules described in Jones' "Quantitative Analysis of Motion Picture Content" [37] suggested many categories for the analysis scheme used here. Specific areas she described were: films about the enemy, allies, production, the home front and fighting forces.

Other analysis categories for this study were suggested by Doob's 1966 [38] work on propanganda and books on the United States home front by Lingeman and Polenberg. [39]

HYPOTHESES

Several hypotheses form the basis of an investigation of the cartoons' content. These hypotheses were developed after initial viewing of 52 cartoons and the review of literature.

> Hypothesis 1. The general, motivating hypothesis is that there is a propaganda message conveyed through the humorous, free-form style of the animated cartoons produced by Warner Brothers during the World War II period. This supposedly innocent, harmless realm of illusion, imagination and entertainment was invaded by historical events and individuals.
>
> Hypothesis 2. Overall, the cartoons should present a positive treatment of the United States and its allies, and a negative treatment of the Germans, Italians, and Japanese.
>
> > As historical characters appear, those on the United States' side should be portrayed favorably, whereas the Axis characters should be presented unfavorably.

In any conflict between Allied characters and Axis characters, the Allies should triumph easily.

The studio's regular cartoon characters should appear and be identified with the United States and its home front or war effort. In any conflict with the enemy they should win.

METHODOLOGY

An analysis grid was developed using categories suggested by the literature on content analysis, propaganda, film analysis, animation and World War II. Appendix A contains the grid and the coding categories used. A trial viewing of 52 cartoons was also used to verify and refine coding categories suggested by the literature.

The grid was used to code all propaganda occurrences in cartoons as they were viewed. The coding system was designed to document every detail in precise and limited categories; occurrences fit appropriately in one, and only one, box of the grid.

Visual and audio symbols were coded separately, as were home front/civilian versus war/military occurrences or symbols. A separate area was designated for the analysis of the appearance, behavior and interaction of characters.

All films were viewed at least twice to verify findings; the films were seen at the Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research. A Steenbeck viewing system was used which allowed forward or reverse viewing at normal, slow or single frame speeds. The films could be stopped at any point.

Films with a significant amount of content were watched all the way through, then immediately reviewed and coded in intervals of 30 seconds. A separate grid sheet was used for each 30 second interval.

Detailed instructions for using the analysis grid are found in Machowski's M. A. thesis, "An Analysis of the Propaganda Context of Warner Brothers Cartoons Released Between 1939 and 1946." [40]

DISCUSSION

Propaganda is determined by the number and nature of symbols and the manifest attitude toward those symbols. There were 2,148 occurrences of symbols in the 194 cartoons viewed.

Table 1 shows that 69.2 percent of these occurrences were presented with a positive or negative attitude. Thus, the cartoons definitely had propaganda content and Hypothesis 1 is supported.

Table 1

Symbolic Occurrences in Cartoons

Category	Occurrences	Percent of Total
Positive Attitude	753	35.1
Neutral	662	30.8
Negative Attitude	733	34.1
Total	2,148	100.0

Note. An occurrence is the presence of any item in the content analysis coding scheme.

The occurrences were evenly distributed between general symbols (52.4 percent) and character specific symbols (47.6 percent). Most of the symbols were visual (69.7 percent); some of the symbols were audio (30.3 percent).

The distribution of cartoons according to frequency of propaganda occurrences is shown in Table 2. Of the 85 cartoons with some propaganda content, over half (49) have five or fewer occurrences. Almost one-fourth (21) of the total have only one occurrence.

Table 2

Distribution of Cartoons by Propaganda Occurrences

	1	2-5	6-10	11-25	26-50	51-75	76-100	100+
Number of Cartoons	21	28	8	9	3	6	3	7
Percent of Cartoons	24.7	32.9	9.4	10.6	3.5	7.1	3.5	8.2

Note. An occurrence is the presence of any item in the content analysis coding scheme.

In the majority of the cartoons, it is evident that the propaganda was a quick intrusion of the reality of wartime, secondary to the main action and theme of the cartoon. It is important to note that many cartoons (18.8 percent) had more than 50 propaganda occurrences and were dominated by the propaganda message.

Table 3 indicates that characters identified with the United States and its allies are treated more favorably by the animators' art than are the German, Italian and Japanese characters. Very positive occurrences were rated a one; moderately positive, a two; neutral, a three; moderately negative, a four; and, very negative, a five. The mean values show that the United States and its allies are firmly in the

positive range of presentation, while the Axis members are firmly negative.

Table 3

Character Treatment by Nationality

	Occurrences					
	Very Positive (1)	Moderately Positive (2)	Neutral (3)	Moderately Negative (4)	Very Negative (5)	Mean
United States	151	49	85	38	17	2.18
Allies	41	24	22	0	0	1.78
Germans (Italians)	2	18	20	174	164	4.27
Japanese	0	1	69	100	16	3.70

Note. An occurrence is the presence of any item in the character section of the the content analysis coding scheme.

Table 4 verifies the same type of treatment by nationality for historical characters. Hitler, Goering, Goebbels, Mussolini and the Japanese emperor were consistently at the negative end of the scale. References to Stalin, Churchill, MacArthur and the Roosevelts were neutral or positive.

Table 4

Treatment of Historical Characters

	Occurrences					
	Very Positive (1)	Moderately Positive (2)	Neutral (3)	Moderately Negative (4)	Very Negative (5)	Mean
Adolph Hitler			11	28	88	4.61
Hermann Goering			4	61	24	4.22
Paul Joseph Goebbels					3	5.00
Benito Mussolini					3	5.00
Japanese Emperor or General				4	6	4.60
Joseph Stalin	13		4			1.47
Winston Churchill	6		9			2.20
General MacArthur	1					1.00
Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt			2			3.00

Note. An occurrence is the presence of any item in the character section of the content analysis coding scheme.

The Allies consistently triumph in conflicts between the Allied and Axis characters with the exception of one cartoon. In "Falling Hare," Bugs Bunny, identified with the United States, is continually thwarted

by an enemy gremlin intent on destroying U.S. planes and munitions.

One film with neither historical characters nor leading Warner Brothers characters has the Allied side triumph. In "Fifth Column Mouse," a community of mice are identified with the Allies by the style of their helmets and their patriotic song. They rout a cat, identified as Japanese by almond eyes, a momentary flash of accent and stereotypically buck teeth. The mice triumph through a combined effort to produce a secret weapon, a mechanical dog.

In films featuring historical characters without Warner's leading characters, the Allies again triumph. In "Russian Rhapsody," a group of Russian gremlins terrorize Hitler on his way to bomb Moscow. In the end his plane is forced to crash as Hitler is literally scared silly by a mask of Joseph Stalin. In "Tin Pan Alley Cats," Joseph Stalin again appears to kick a grotesque caricature of Hitler right out of the cartoon.

The Warner Brothers main characters consistently triumph over historical characters from the Axis nations. In "Daffy--The Commando," Daffy Duck destroys two Nazi soldiers. In "Plane Daffy," he thwarts not only Nazi master spy Hata Mari (a twist on the WW I Dutch spy, Mata Hari), but also Hitler, Goering and Goebbels. In "Herr Meets Hare," Bugs Bunny ridicules Goering and Hitler. He destroys a Japanese wrestler and an invasion force in "Bugs Bunny Nips the Nips."

These descriptions depict the interactions of Warner's characters with historical characters. Overall, Bugs Bunny appeared in 22 cartoons and was identified with the United States in five. Daffy Duck was an American in four of his 13 appearances. Porky Pig was identified with

the United States in four of 10 cartoons. None of these nor any other leading Warner's characters, were identified with any Axis nationality.

Thus, Hypothesis 2 is supported; the United States and its allies were portrayed positively; Allied historical characters were portrayed positively; Allied characters won the conflicts; Warner's main characters were identified with the United States and defeated characters identified with its enemies.

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

A qualitive description of selected cartoons is needed to indicate the flavor of the actual propaganda content. In the first selection of the films, the propaganda content is secondary to the main plot or theme of the cartoon. It is usually a setting, a phrase, a costume or piece of machinery. Nevertheless, this inclusion of war artifacts shows that the studios were beginning, even in 1941, to exhibit a preoccupation with the language and machinery of war.

In three films, the hardware of war creeps into the conflict so central to the Warner Brothers cartoon format. In "The Fighting 69 1/2th" (1941) two armies of ants wage war over the food on a picnic blanket. Howitzers, barbed wire and hand-to-hand combat highlight the affair. The red ants wear helmets similar to the British "doughboy" helmets of World War I. The bird (Tweetie Pie) of "Birdie and the Beast" (1944) blows up his nemesis the Cat (Sylvester) with a World War II G.I. hand grenade. In "Goofy Groceries" (1941) turtles become World War I land tanks to fight off a rampaging gorilla.

Other cartoons centered on a specific war-related theme. Remember, though, that these films were similar in tone and style to nonpropaganda

films. They were very much in the tradition of the studio's entertainment work, but were used for an additional purpose.

Some cartoons contained messages regarding the home front. An appropriate preface to the significance of these films is provided by Finlay, Holsti and Fagen: [41]

> The internal image stresses patriotism and loyalty and emphasizes features of the society which serve to reassure its members that they are on the side of legitimacy, righteousness, and power. It often conveys the idea of danger and the necessity for unanimity or for rallying around the leader, the movement, or the state, and legitimizes the need for vigilance against enemies, whether internal or external.

"The Fifth Column Mouse" (1943) contains a "subtle" allegorical message for all Americans. Again, the message is cast in a standard cartoon conflict--cat vs. mouse--and as usual the predator is the villain. The plot follows the conflict to the final triumph of the underdogs.

The film opens to a rather pleasant scene of mice frolicking in the basement--they sing, dance, ski down Venetian blinds, swim in a sink and generally carouse. They are cute bipeds (though less human than Mickey Mouse) who talk and smile. One mouse is obviously different than the others: less melodic voice, darker coloration and larger snout and ears. He will become the fifth column mouse hereafter "mouse 5" or "quisling-mouse". (Vidkun Quisling was a Norwegian politician who betrayed his country to the Nazis.)

Into the idyllic scene comes the cat at a window. "Mouse 5" panics but another reassures him, "Don't worry, he can't get in here!" He does get in, however, and the mice scurry. A mouse in an air raid warden's

helmet shouts "Lights Out!" and pulls the light cord.

"Mouse 5" is captured by the cat after a brief chase. The cat speaks in a sly voice, at once menacing and sickeningly sweet. He tempts the mouse with cheese and the promise that he won't be harmed. The cat claims that he has come to protect the mice from the ones that really wish to harm them. He smiles the sinister toothsome grin used to characterize Japanese. But "mouse 5" must do certain tasks whispered into his ear. He agrees and the cat commands him to get going. As the mouse obeys, he give a "Sieg Heil" salute and goose steps off to his compatriots. The meaning is now clear--the cat is an Axis representative; this mouse is a quisling.

At a political rally, the quisling-mouse convinces the others to obey the cat for their own protection. They become veritable slaves of the cat who sits on satin pillows and leisurely accepts the mouse ministrations. They file his nails, fan his face and brush his fur. The mice get restless, though, as does the cat who voices a craving for a "fat tender mouse" to satisfy his hunger. The mice scurry for cover again; the quisling barely escapes.

At another political rally the mice decide to take action; they march defiantly, singing "We did it before, and we can do it again!" They are helmeted in a bottle capper. They plan an attack around the secret weapon under construction in their hole. During construction a mouse is raised past a "Buy Bonds" poster with mouse minuteman. The secret weapon is completed--a mechanical dog "manned" by mice. They attack, vanquish the cat and end with another triumphant chorus of "We did it before. . . " The quisling, now proud of the cat's defeat, joins

the singing but ends up alone with a pie in his face.

The message of this cartoon is clear--beware of the sweet-talking promises of the Axis infiltrater and the fifth columnist. The slavery shows the inevitable result of succumbing to the enemy. There are suggested requirements to defeat the enemy: unity of purpose (the rally), a strong and determined army (the helmeted, marching troops), money (bonds) and technology/weaponry (the dog). Could these messages be meant for anything other than a wartime economy?

Some of the cartoons had a direct characterization of the enemy. In each of these films an enemy character appears, is identified as such and engages in direct conflict with an obvious representative of the Allied forces.

"Russian Rhapsody" (1944) is the definitive Warner Brothers cartoon of Adolf Hitler. It is also an outstanding example of coordinated action and music.

The film opens on a map of Europe. Radio waves emanate from Berlin announcing German frustration over the inability to bomb Moscow. Italy is characterized as a worn boot with many holes through which dirty toes protrude.

A series of headlines follow from such German papers as the "Hamburg mit Onions":

> Blitz on the Fritz!
> More Moscow-bound Bombers Mysteriously Disappear!
> Could it be Gremlins?
> M-m-m-m-m, Could Be!
> Fuhrer Furious!!

The final page turns red hot and explodes. The camera cuts to a close-up of Hitler raging on a podium behind a microphone labeled PU.

He has a bowl cut, with exaggerated black hair flopping over one eye, and a mustache. He is dressed in green, an iron cross on his chest, and a red arm band with a black swastika in white circle.

Hitler rages, jumps up and down, screams, spits and pounds his fist. Some of his monologue: "Hamburger mit den frankfurter und der Sauerbraten. . .mit der zoot suit . . .mit der 'What's cooking Doc?'. . Chattanoga choo-choo." At this point, a hand interjects a card full frame: "Silly, isn't He?" Hitler is ludicrous--a possessed madman rattling nonsense phrases. The image continues and is reinforced later in the cartoon's denouement.

The camera cuts back to a long shot of Hitler at the podium. It is Nuremberg at the Nazi party rallies. Overhead, though, are the words "The New Odor."

Hitler continues his tirade concerning the bombing of Moscow: "Ve vill bomben der Moscow, bomben Stalin, bomben dat Irish general Tim O'Shenko" (Russian Marshall Timoshenko). He sweats, puts his head on the podium and cries from the frustration and strain. "To bomb Moscow I vill send de best pilot in der Reich (heavy drool on the last syllable), da greatest superman of all time!" He raises his arms to the cheering crowd.

A voice question, "Who's dat? You, Fuhrer?"

"Hmm, who else?" Hitler shrugs.

The camera cuts to a headline, "Our Adolf to Bomb Moscow in Person." Cut to a vigilant Hitler at the pilot's seat as his bomber crosses the Russian border.

Suddenly, little (3"-8") multi-colored creatures appear around the exterior of the plane--gremlins. They sing "We're gremlins from the Kremlin" to a distorted version of "Dark Eyes." As they proceed through humorous scenes of destruction and sabotage they sing:

We are Russian gremlins
Up in the sky we're found
Schicklgruber's aeroplanes
We smack right to the ground
We like nothing better
Than to mess up messerschmidts
And bring their heavy bombers
Down to earth in teeny bits
Napoleon and his army
Never got to first base
Now we'll push those nasty Nazis
In der Fuhrer's face
We're here, we're there, we're everywhere
We're in the Nazi's hair
And when they try to catch us
We're the little men who weren't there

One gremlin turns loose a burping "termiteski" to eat apart the bomber's wing. Another changes the plane's fuel ration sticker from a "C" to an "a," smallest ration.

A gremlin who has been trying throughout the song to place a tack in Hitler's rear finally succeeds and the confrontation is on. Hitler falls on his face, eye-to-eye with the gremlin and snarls, "Ach! A gremlin from the Kremlin." The gremlin retorts, "How do you do?" and smacks him over the nose with a mallet. Hitler's big, sloppy nose flops below his dazed eyes. An electric socket is placed on his nose and turned on. Hitler is shocked into three electrified, distorted poses: a human swastika, a skunk covered with swastikas and a hee-hawing jackass.

Hitler breaks loose, bares vicious teeth and chases the gremlins. They flash him a face mask of Stalin: he screams, wide-mouthed with terror, drops the knife and faints. The gremlins cut a hole in the

plane floor and Hitler plummets earthward. He lands, bounces and tries to hide behind a tree. There is no escape from the plane; it crashes on him. A wing sticks out as a tombstone over his grave plot. The gremlins triumphantly sing, "We are gremlins." Hitler pops out of the ground, goofy-eyed, tongue out, slobbering. He portrays the large teeth and slant-eyes of cartoon-characterized Japanese, a stylized retardate. He says, "Nutzies is the craziest peoples!" The gremlins finish their line, "From the Kremlin, Hey!" and the camera closes on another mallet smash to Hitler's head.

Characterization of the Germans is centered on historical characters: Hitler, Goering and Goebbels. They were highly identifiable individuals for the wrath and ridicule of the cartoonist in "Plane Daffy," "Russian Rhapsody," and "Herr Meets Hare."

A consistent image of Hitler is conveyed through these films. In cameo roles in "Plane Daffy" and "Herr Meets Hare" he is devious and domineering, his features exaggerated and comical. He is able to strike fear in his underlings (the Goebbels and Goering suicides in "Plane Daffy"). "Russian Rhapsody" portrays Hitler and his style in more detailed parody. He rages on a podium, face distorted with violence. This fearful image is completely ridiculed by the film's end when he is a raging, foolish idiot, pawn of a handful of 5-inch gremlins. He is vicious and domineering, but in the end an easily defeated fool.

The Nazi system is also parodied, called the "New Odor." Nazis are called "Nutzies." The swastika is omnipresent yet ludicrous. In these films it appears on a garter belt, earrings, shoes, a skunk/Hitler and a jackass/Hitler.

The cartoons do not stop with the Nazis and their symbols, however. Although only Nazis appear as Germans in these films, certain aspects of German culture are mocked. The language of Hitler in "Russian Rhapsody" is as much a parody of his speaking style as it is of the German vocabulary. In "Herr Meets Hare" the 13th century Germanic myth of the Nibelungen is ridiculed. Did audiences generalize these thing to all Germans? Did this image have a lasting effect?

The portrayal of Japanese in "Bugs Bunny Nips the Nips" is more obviously directed to the race. No central, historical figure acts as foil to Bugs. The characters parodied are infantrymen, a sumo wrestler and a geisha. The "slant eyes" and "monkey face" references are racial slurs, not merely verbal attacks on an enemy. The physical features of the Japanese characters are stereotypes long fostered of all orientals.

Finlay, Holsti and Fagen [42] address this issue in discussing the development of the image of an enemy:

> In the images we maintain, our virtues--or the nation's--are magnified, while our sins tend to be blocked out. Conversely, the evils of the enemy are exaggerated, while any virtues he may possess are ignored.

Further: [43]

> Minimally, the symbol of the enemy is a convenient means for intimidating and damning opponents and antagonists by shifting the burden of sin or failure onto them.

Isaksson and Furhammar [44] also comment on the image of the enemy:

> The propaganda image of the other side must be stylized simplicity. Subtlety and realism invite comparisons: if the enemy were represented without distortion, his strength might be recognisable as well as his weakness; the spectator would be exposed to the enemy's point of view, and would discover the human traits behind the unattractive exterior.

In this framework, then, the animated film becomes the excellent mechanism for propaganda. As shown in these films, the enemy is obviously stereotyped with no redeeming features. Subtlety and realism are not apparent in the utter distortion of time and space that is the hectic world of the cartoon.

CONCLUSIONS

The films analyzed in this study had a dual purpose: to entertain in the tradition of the cartoon form, and to convey a particular image and message regarding the country's involvement in World War II and its enemies.

It is clear that, at least with Warner Brothers, the animators willingly offered their talents for government contract. They were also proud of their contribution to the war effort made through theatrically-released cartoons. The animators passed on useful warnings to the citizenry regarding its part in the war: to contribute by working, rationing and buying bonds; to be vigilant for fifth columnists. These efforts are to be expected, and possibly required, in the context of a war, but there were some questionable extensions of this effort.

In the films that featured Germans of Japanese, there were certain extreme portrayals whose effects can be speculated on. German culture and language were ridiculed along with the Nazis who ran the war;

Japanese language, physical features and customs also appeared in an unappealing light. Knowing that Bugs Bunny and Daffy Duck were firmly established in the country's mentality before 1940 as heroic, lovable characters, they were an attractive drawing card at theaters. Also, the animated image is traditionally intended for the child's interest and entertainment. It seems possible that the images of the Germans and Japanese could linger in young minds beyond the context of the war--children might not understand what war meant when they were removed from it by over 3,000 miles, but they could retain a very clear conscious or subconscious image of the stereotypical Germans or Japanese of the cartoon genre.

As Finlay stated: [45]

> When the idea of the enemy becomes a prevalent concern, there is a corresponding effect upon the education of the young, upon mass media, and upon other realms where ideas, behavior, and roles are formed. As pointed out earlier, this may lead to more controls over the socialization process so that certain types of "products" result. Concern fosters orthodoxy or dogmatism in education and socialization.

Whether or not these cartoons had any of these derogatory effects is only speculative, but the potential was there. Possibly in recognition of these negative effects, Bob Clampett summarized the animator's reaction to his art at war's end: [46]

> But, of course, Mike, when the war ended, we all looked upon any overt aggressiveness in an entirely different light.

FOOTNOTES

1 John Halas and Roger Manvell, The Technique of Film Animation (London: Focal Press, 1959), p. 68.

2 Anthony Rhodes, Propaganda, The Art of Persuasion: World War II, ed. Victor Margolin (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1976).

3 Susan Elizabeth Dalton, "Bugs and Daffy Go to War," The American Animated Cartoon, eds. Gerald Peary and Danny Peary (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1980), pp. 158-61, reprinted from The Velvet Light Trap, 4 (Spring, 1972).

4 Harwood L. Childs, An Introduction to Public Opinion (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1940), p. 75; Thomas C. Sorenson, The World War (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), p. 3.

5 Harold Dwight Lasswell, Ralph D. Casey, and Bruce Lannes Smith, eds., Propaganda and Promotional Activities (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935, reissued 1969), p. 3.

6 Childs, op. cit., p. 79; Leonard W. Doob, Public Opinion and Propaganda (2nd ed.; Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1966), p. 242.

7 Doob, op. cit., p. 285; Institute for Propaganda Analysis, Group Leader's Guide to Propaganda Analysis (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938); Institute for Propaganda Analysis, Propaganda (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938).

8 Childs, op. cit., p. 81.

9 Harold Lavine and James Wechsler, War Propaganda and the United States (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1940), p. viii.

10 Rhodes, op. cit., foreward.

11 Lasswell, et al., op. cit., p. 13.

12 Bernard Berelson, Content Analysis in Communication Research (Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1952), p.13.

13 Berelson, op. cit., p. 18.

14 Claire Selltiz et al., Research Methods in Social Relations (Revised ed.; New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1959), p. 336.

15 Raymond B. Nixon, "Propaganda and Censorship in America's Next War," Journalism Quarterly, 16:237, September, 1939.

16 Ibid., p. 240.

17 Richard Dyar MacCann, The People's Films (New York: Hastings House, 1973).

18 Charles Roetter, The Art of Psychological Warfare, 1914-1945, (New York: Stein & Day, 1974), pp. 127-45; Sorenson, op. cit., pp. 1-30.

19 Mike Barrier, "Bob Clampett: an interview with a Master Cartoon-Maker and Puppeteer," Funnyworld, 12:23, Summer, 1970.

20 Maltin, op. cit., p. 250.

21 Ibid.

22 Peter Stamelman, "A Chat with Mel Blanc," The American Animated Cartoon, eds. Gerald Peary and Danny Peary (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1980), p. 165.

23 Mike Barrier, "An Interview with Chuck Jones," Funnyworld, 13:11, Spring, 1971.

24 Maltin, op. cit., p. 250.

25 Clare Kitson, Persuasion and Politics, program notes from "50 Years of Animation," American Film Institute, 1972.

26 Garth Jowett, Film, The Democratic Art (Boston: Little, Brown, 1976), pp. 304-6.

27 Robert Sklar, Movie-Made America (New York: Random House, 1975), p. 249.

28 Jowett, op. cit., p. 307; Arthur F. McClure, The Movies: An American Idiom (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1971), p.164.

29 T. Ramsaye, ed., The Motion Picture Almanac 1943-44 (New York: Quigley Publications, 1944), p. 675; T. Ramsage, ed., The Motion Picture Almanac 1945-46, p. 483.

30 Jowett, op. cit., p. 309.

31 Leonard W. Doob, Propaganda--Its Psychology and Technique (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1935).

32 Ibid., p. 380.

33 Mike Barrier, "Bob Clampett: an Interview with a Master Cartoon-Maker and Puppeteer," p. 23.

34 Ibid.

35 Dalton, loc. cit.; Stamelman, loc. cit.; Maltin, loc. cit.; Mike Barrier, "An Interview with Chuck Jones"; Mike Barrier, "Bob Clampett: an interview with a Master Cartoon-Maker and Puppeteer"; Kitson, loc. cit.

36 Dalton, loc. cit.

37 Dorothy B. Jones, "Quantitative Analysis of Motion Picture Content," Public Opinion Quarterly, 6:411-428, Fall, 1942.

38 Doob, Public Opinion and Progaganda.

39 Richard R. Lingeman, Don't You Know There's a War On? (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1970); Richard Polenberg, ed., America at War: The Home Front, 1941-1945 (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1968).

40 James Stanley Machowski, "An Analysis of the Propaganda Content of Warner Brothers Cartoons Released Between 1939 and 1946" (M.A. thesis, University of Minnesota, 1981), chapters 3 and 4.

41 David J. Finlay, Ole R. Holsti and Richard R. Fagen, Enemies in Politics (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1967) p. 20.

42 Ibid., p. 19, citing Ross Stagner, "Personality Dynamics and Social Conflict," The Journal of Social Issues, 17:33, 1961.

43 Finlay et al., op. cit., p. 19.

44 Folke Isaksson and Leif Furhammar, Politics and Film (New York: Praeger, 1971), p. 201.

45 Finlay et al., op. cit., p. 19.

46 Mike Barrier, "Bob Clampett: An Interview with a Master Cartoon-Maker and Puppeteer."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Academic Studies

Machowski, James Stanley. "An Analysis of the Propaganda Content of Warner Brothers Cartoons released between 1939 and 1946." M.A. thesis, University of Minnesota, 1981.

Books

Adamson, Joe. Tex Avery: King of Cartoons. New York: Popular Library, 1975.

Berelson, Bernard. Content Analysis in Communication Research. Glencoe, Il: The Free Press, 1952.

Childs, Harwood, L. An Introduction to Public Opinion. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1940.

Davis, Elmer Holmes, and Byron Price. War Information and Censorship. Washington, DC: American Council on Public Affairs, 1943.

Doob, Leonard W. Propaganda--Its Psychology and Technique. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1935.

Doob, Leonard W. Public Opinions and Propaganda. 2d ed. Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1966.

Finlay, David J., Ole R. Holsti, and Richard R. Fagen. Enemies in Politics. Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1967.

Gerlach, John C., and Lana Gerlach. The Critical Index: A Bibliography of Articles on Film in English, 1946-1973. New York: Teachers College Press, 1974.

Halas, John, and Roger Manvell. The Technique of Film Animation. London: Focal Press, 1959.

Institute for Propaganda Analysis. Group Leader's Guide to Propaganda Analysis. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938.

Institute for Propaganda Analysis. Propaganda. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938.

Isaksson, Folke and Leif Furhammar. Politics and Film. New York: Praeger, 1971.

Jowett, Garth. Film, the Democratic Art. Boston: Little Brown, 1976.

Lasswell, Harold Dwight, Ralph D.Casey, and Bruce Lannes Smith, eds. Propaganda and Promotional Activities. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935, reissued 1969.

Lavine, Harold, and James Wechsler. War Propaganda and the United States. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1940.

Lingeman, Richard R. Don't You Know There's a War On? New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1970.

MacCann, Richard Dyar. The People's Films. New York: Hastings House, 1973.

McClure, Arthur F. The Movies: An American Idiom. Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1971.

Maltin, Leonard. Of Mice and Magic. New York: Plume Books, 1980.

Monaco, James, and Susan Shenker. Books About Film: A Bibliographic Checklist. 3rd ed. New York: New York Zeotrope, 1976.

Peary, Gerald, and Danny Peary, eds. The American Animated Film. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1980.

Polenberg, Richard, ed. American at War: The Home Front, 1941-1945. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1968.

Ramsaye, T., ed. The Motion Picture Almanac 1943-44. New York: Quigley Publications, 1944.

Ramsaye, T., ed. The Motion Picture Almanac 1945-46. New York: Quigley Publications, 1944.

Rhodes, Anthony. Propaganda, The Art of Persuasion: World War II. ed. Victor Margolin. New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1976.

Roetter, Charles. The Art of Psychological Warfare, 1914-1945. New York: Stein & Day, 1974.

Rotha, Paul, and Richard Griffith. The Film Till Now. London: Spring Books, 1967.

Sellitz, Claire, et al. Research Methods in Social Relations. Revised ed. New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1959.

Sklar, Robert. Movie-Made America. New York: Random House, 1975.

Smith, Bruce Lannes, Harold D. Lasswell, and Ralph D. Casey. Propaganda, Communication, and Public Opinion. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946.

Sorenson, Thomas C. The Word War. New York: Harper & Row, 1968.

Periodicals

American Film Institute. "AFI Report." American Film Institute Quarterly. 5:1-48, Summer, 1974.

Barrier, Mike. "An Interview with Chuck Jones." Funnyworld. 13:4-19, Spring, 1971.

Barrier, Mike. "Bob Clampett: An Interview with a Master Cartoon-Maker and Puppeteer." Funnyworld. 12:12-37, Summer, 1970.

Hoyt, Palmer. "OWI in 1943--Coordinator and Service Agency." Journalism Quarterly. 16:320-325, September, 1939.

Jones, Dorothy B. "The Hollywood War Film: 1942-1944." Hollywood Quarterly. 1:1-19, October, 1945.

Jones, Dorothy B. "Quantitative Analysis of Motion Picture Content." Public Opinion Quarterly. 6:411-428, Fall, 1942.

Nixon, Raymond B. "Propaganda and Censorship in America's Next War." Journalism Quarterly. 16:237-244, September, 1939.

Program Notes

Kitson, Clare. Persuasion and Politics. program notes from "50 Years of Animation."American Film Institute, 1972.

Statistical and Computer References

Anderson, Theodore R., and Morris Zelditch, Jr. A Basic Course in Statistics. 3d ed. International Series in Decision Processes. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1975.

Blalock, Hubert M., Jr. Theory Construction from Verbal to Mathematical Formulation. Prentice-Hall Methods of Social Science Series. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969.

Franta, Richard T., et al. University Computer Center User's Manual. Minneapolis, Mn: University of Minnesota, University Computer Center, 1977.

Hage, Jerald. Techniques and Problems of Theory Construction in Sociology. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1972.

Klecka, William R., Norman H. Nie, and C. Hadlai Hull. Statistical Package for the Social Sciences Primer. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1975.

Nie, Norman H., et al. Statistical Package for the Social Sciences. 2d ed. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1975.

University Computer Center, SPSS-6000 Version 8.0 Update. Minneapolis, Mn: University of Minnesota, University Computer Center, April, 1980.

APPENDIX A

Content Coding Grid and Coding Categories

Left Column

A. _____ B. _____

C. _____

D. _____ E. _____

F. _____

_____

G. _____

H. _____

I. _____ J. _____

K. _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

L. _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

m _____

N. _____

_____

O. _____

_____

P. _____

_____

_____

_____

GENERAL OCCURRENCES

	Visual Symbols												Audio Symbols										
	Home Front/Civilian											War/Military										Home Front/Civilian										War/Military									
	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	K	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	K	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	K	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	K
I																																											
II																																											
III																																											
IV																																											
V																																											
VI																																											
VII																																											
VIII																																											
IX																																											
X																																											

CHARACTERS

	Home Front/Civilian									Appearance												War/Military										Interaction				
	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	K	L	m	N	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	K	L	m	N	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	
1.																																														Visual
																																														Audio
2.																																														Visual
																																														Audio
3																																														Visual
																																														Audio
4.																																														Visual
																																														Audio
5.																																														Visual
																																														Audio
6.																																														Visual
																																														Audio

Left Column Explanation

A. Code number of cartoon
B. Number of viewing; number of interval for internal analysis
C. Location of viewing
D. Date of viewing
E. Wisconsin Center reference number
F. Cartoon title
G. Copyright date on film
H. Color or black-and-white
I. Merrie Melodies or Looney Tunes
K. Production staff
L. Character
M. Releasing organization
P. Viewing notes

General Occurrence Area (Upper Half of Grid)

I. United States: World War II
II. United States: other war
III. United States: general/cultural
IV. Allies: World War II
V. Allies: general/cultural
VI. Germans (and Italians): World War II
VII. Germans (and Italians): general/cultural
VIII. Japanese: World War II
IX. Japanese: general/cultural
X. Modern: no national identification

Home Front/Civilian, Visual

a. Victory garden, saving scrap, rationing, judicious travel
b. Hoarding
c. Production
d. Fifth column, sabotage
e. Civil defense
f. Patriotic, national symbols: "V", flags, etc.
g. Defense, defense tax, savings bonds
h. Absenteeism
i. Historical place
j. Political, historic character
k. Air raid warden, production workers

War/Military, Visual

a. References to war/military
b. Draft/enlistment
c. Draft evasion, AWOL, 4-F
d. Military academy
e. Military camp/base
f. Victory symbols
g. Battle
h. Weapons/machines
i. Helmet/uniforms
j. Historical character
k. Military personnel

Home Front/Civilian, Audio

a. Victory garden, save scrap, rationing, judicious travel
b. Hoarding
c. Production
d. Sabotage, fifth column
e. Civil defense
f. Patriotism, nationalism, "V", flags
g. Defense, defense tax, savings bonds
h. Absenteeism
i. Historical character speaks
j. Mention historical character
k. Patriotic or nationalistic song

War/Military, Audio

a. Reference to war/military
b. Draft/enlistment
c. Draft evasion, AWOL, 4-F
d. Military academy
e. Military camp/base
f. Victory symbols
g. Battle
h. Weapons (mentioned)
i. Weapons (sounds)
j. Reference to military character
k. Martial, military songs

Character Area (Bottom Half of Grid)

1. First Character
2. Second Character
3. Third Character
4. Fourth Character
5. Fifth Character
6. Sixth Character

Home Front/Civilian

a. Victory garden, saving scrap, rationing, judicious travel
b. Hoarding
c. Production
d. Sabotage, fifth column
e. Civil defense
f. Patriotism, nationalism, "V", flags, etc.
g. Defense, defense tax, savings bonds

War/Military

a. Reference to war/military
b. Draft/enlistment
c. Draft evasion, AWOL, 4-F
d. Military academy
e. Military camp/base
f. Victory symbols
g. Battle
h. Weapons/machine: appearance for visual; mention for audio
i. Helmets/uniforms (visual): Weapons' sounds (audio)

Character Appearance

j. Identifiable as U.S.
k. Inferable as U.S.
l. Ally
m. German (Italian)
n. Japanese
o. General appearance
p. Stereotyped appearance
q. Speech or accent
r. The language
s. General behavior
t. Violent behavior

Character Interaction

t. Friendly
u. Antagonistic
v. Wins
w. Loses

Positive/Negative Scales for Recording Occurrences in Grid

1. Very positive
2. Moderately positive
3. Neutral
4. Moderately negative
5. Very Negative